

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 071604 TOSEC 030181  
ORIGIN SS-25

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EUR:REBARBOUR  
S/S:RGAMBLE

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O 312358Z MAR 77 ZFF5  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
INFO USDEL SACRETARY IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 071604 TOSEC 030181

EXDIS - FOR HARTMAN; VIENNA FOR LEDSKY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH CLARK CLIFFORD

1. AMBASSADOR ESENBEL, AT HIS REQUEST, MET MARCH 30 WITH THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, CLARK CLIFFORD. ALSO PRESENT DURING 40 MINUTE MEETING WERE COUNSELOR-DESIGNATE NIMETZ AND EWING (EUR/SE).

2. ESENBEL SAID HE WANTED TO GET FROM CLIFFORD LATEST THINKING ON NEXT STEPS RE US-TURKEY DEFENSE COOPERATION  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 071604 TOSEC 030181

AGREEMENT (DCA) AND OTHER ASPECTS US-TURKEY RELATIONSHIP. ESENBEL NOTED THAT TURKISH ELECTION WOULD MOST LIKELY BE HELD ON JUNE 5 AND THAT SOME POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF US-TURKISH RELATIONS WOULD HELP AVOID THIS SUBJECT BECOMING CAMPAIGN ISSUE. ESENBEL SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD CLIFFORD HAD RECOMMENDED AN INCREASE IN FMS CREDITS FOR TURKEY IN FY 1978 ABOVE LEVEL OF PAST TWO YEARS COUPLED WITH A POS-

SIBLE LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS ON FMS CASH PURCHASES. SUCH STEPS WOULD BE INDEED USEFUL BUT GOT FELT DCA WAS ALSO VERY IMPORTANT.

3. CLIFFORD SAID HE HAD GREATLY APPRECIATED OPPORTUNITY HAVE EXCHANGES OF VIEWS IN ANKARA AND HE WANTED CONTINUE SHARE THINKING FULLY WITH GOT. CLIFFORD SAID E FAVORED A

FOUR-YEAR DCA IN PRINCIPLE BUT THAT IT WAS HIS BELIEF THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO GET THE TURKISH DCA THROUGH CONGRESS AT THIS TIME. HE HAD THUS RECOMMENDED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION NOT SEEK ACTION NOW BUT RATHER MAKE AN EFFORT TO CONSTRUCT A POSITIVE PROGRAM WHICH WOULD LEAD IN THAT DIRECTION. FIRST STEPS COULD BE TAKEN FOR FY 1978 AFTER WHICH HOPEFULLY A BETTER CLIMATE MIGHT EXIST IN CONGRESS FOR THE DCA. CLIFFORD EMPHASIZED THAT TRIP HAD REINFORCED HIS STRONG COMMITMENT TO IMPORTANCE OF A HEALTHY LONG-TERM US-TURKEY RELATIONSHIP AND TURKEY'S PLACE IN NATO. HE HOPED THAT EARLY STEPS COULD BE TAKEN MEET IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS, E.G. F-4 AND FY 78 AID LEVELS, AND THAT FULLY RESTORED RELATIONSHIP COULD BE ACHIEVED LATER. HE HOPED ADMINISTRATION WOULD ACCEPT HIS RECOMMENDATIONS AND THAT CONGRESS WOULD AGREE. CLIFFORD SAID HE HAD BEEN PLEASED WITH GENERALLY SYMPATHETIC CONGRESSIONAL REACTION DURING HIS TWO APPEARANCES BEFORE SFRC AND HIRC AND IN OTHER INFORMAL MEETINGS.

4. ESENBEL SAID THAT GOT REALIZED IMPORTANCE OF VIENNA CYPRUS TALKS AND SAID ONAN HAD FULL SUPPORT OF TURKISH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 071604 TOSEC 030181

GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, HE WAS DOUBTFUL THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS REALLY WANTED SETTLEMENT NOW AND EXPRESS-D VIEW THAT ESTABLISHING LINKAGE BETWEEN TURKISH DCA AND CYPRUS HAD NOT WORKED AND WOULD NOT WORK NOW. CLIFFORD SAID HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD FIRM TURKISH VIEW AGAINST SUCH LINKAGE, BUT THAT IN HIS VIEW CYPRUS REPRESENTED A CONSTANT SOURCE OF FRICTION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. US WANTED MORE STABLE CONDITIONS IN AREA AND THEREFORE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO ALL IT COULD TO GET THE PROBLEMS SOLVED. CLIFFORD SAID WE ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY WERE VERY IMPORTANT AND THEREFORE IN ANKARA HE HAD RELAYED GREEK ATTITUDES AS EXPRESSED TO HIM IN ATHENS. CLIFFORD ASSURED ESENBEL THAT AT THE RIGHT TIME HE WOULD DO ALL HE POSSIBLY COULD TO SUPPORT TURKISH DCA BEFORE CONGRESS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT UNANIMOUS CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF DCA WOULD NEVER OCCUR, BUT THAT BROAD CONSENSUS WAS POSSIBLE.

5. ESENBEL AGREED THAT CYPRUS WAS IMPORTANT BUT STRESSED

THAT REACHING A SETTLEMENT WAS NOT SOMETHING THAT WAS ONLY IN HANDS OF TURKEY. THERE WERE LIMITS TO WHAT TURKS COULD ACCEPT. CLIFFORD SAID HE HAD STRESSED TO ALL CONCERNED, INCLUDING MAKARIOS, THAT SETTLEMENT THIS YEAR SHOULD BE POSSIBLE IF ALL PARTIES WOULD MAKE GREATER CONTRIBUTIONS. CLIFFORD RECALLED HIS CONVERSATION WITH DENKTASH AS VERY DIFFICULT AND THAT HE FULLY RECOGNIZED THE STRONG AND BITTER FEELINGS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. HE THOUGHT CARAMANLIS WOULD HELP ENCOURAGE A SETTLEMENT AND URGED THE GOT TO CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE DENKTASH TO TAKE A REASONABLE POSITION.

6. CLIFFORD SAID THAT PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HIM TO STAY INVOLVED IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN QUESTIONS. HE WAS PREPARED TO MEET WITH ALL INTERESTED PARTIES AND POSSIBLY EVEN GO BACK ON SECOND TRIP TO AREA.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 071604 TOSEC 030181

7. IN RESPONSE TO ESENBEL QUESTION, CLIFFORD SAID IN HIS VIEW ADMINISTRATION SHOULD NOT MAKE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT CONDITION PRECEDENT FOR DCA SUPPORT. RATHER, PATTERN OF PROGRESS AND GOOD FAITH EFFORT BY PARTIES TO REACH CYPRUS SOLUTION SHOULD ENABLE ADMINISTRATION TO MOVE AHEAD, BUT HE DID NOT WANT TO PREDICT PRECISELY WHEN THAT WOULD BE POSSIBLE. HE NOTED THAT US WOULD WATCH DEVELOPMENTS IN VIENNA TALKS CLOSELY.

8. ESENBEL SAID THAT HE MIGHT BE RETURNING SHORTLY TO ANKARA ON CONSULTATIONS. CLIFFORD SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD SEE ESENBEL AGAIN AFTER HE RETURNS FROM ANKARA.

CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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